



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-92-013  
Tuesday  
21 January 1992

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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21 January 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Congo

### Further on Military, Political Events, Developments

#### Political Group Issues Communiqué

AB1701195092 *Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 0700 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Communiqué issued by Joachim Yhombi-Opango's RDD [as heard] [expansion unknown] in Brazzaville on 17 January—read by studio announcer]

[Text] The RDD notes with satisfaction the confirmation of the pledge made to the nation by the Congolese Armed Forces to contribute to the smooth running of the democratic process in our country. The RDD insists on the need to respect the legitimacy of the government and the procedures established for the conduct of state affairs. To this effect, it regrets that appointments were made in violation of military regulations and the clauses of the Constitution. The RDD disagrees with the logic of geopolitics in making appointments instead of using the objective criteria of competence and probity.

The RDD expresses satisfaction with the initiatives and the behavior of the High Council of the Republic by virtue of its constitutional powers to control and monitor the transition, and to mediate. It consequently dissociates itself with the terms of the communiqué of the Forces of Change, which was broadcast on the national radio.

The RDD therefore calls for dialogue among all the parties concerned in order to find a concerted, rapid, and efficient solution to the issue so as to ensure a smooth continuation of the transitional period.

#### HCR Asks Military Appointments Be Canceled

AB1861145092 *Paris AFP in French 0857 GMT 18 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, 18 Jan (AFP)—The High Council of the Republic (HCR), Congo's highest governing body, asked the government yesterday evening to cancel the appointments in the Army which were announced on 14 January, and which caused rumblings among senior officers, an official source in Brazzaville disclosed this morning. If the government fails to comply with this decision, the HCR could censor the government, a reliable source indicated. This decision, according to a member of the council who preferred to remain anonymous, is intended to preserve "the climate of peace and national unity." The official refused to specify whether the HCR, like the senior Army officers, had demanded the departure of the secretary of state for defense.

An officers' conference on the Armed Forces will begin on 31 January, the HCR also decided, and the budget for this meeting, which has been requested by the disgruntled soldiers, was fixed at 70 million CFA francs. Mon-signor Ernest Kombo, chairman of the HCR, spoke at the full session of the Council and in the presence of the

Prime Minister Andre Milongo, condemned an attack on one of his bodyguards. This man was attacked at a rally organized by Mr. Bernard Kolelas' Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development during which the HCR had been criticized by a speaker. "The people hear us. They now know which political parties incite hatred," Msg Kombo stated.

#### Troops Said To Thwart Milongo Plane Trip

AB1801135092 *Paris AFP in French 1324 GMT 18 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, 18 Jan (AFP)—According to informed sources, soldiers from the Congolese Airborne Detachment occupied Brazzaville Airport this morning to prevent Prime Minister Andre Milongo from leaving for Pointe-Noire, the Congolese economic capital. However, the airport was not closed to international or domestic traffic and other travelers normally boarded the various planes on domestic or international flights which took off on schedule.

The prime minister was scheduled to have left for Pointe-Noire to launch the exploitation of the Yombo oil field, off the Congolese coasts, by the American Oil Company Amoco. The soldiers, however, allowed the minister delegate for mines and energy [Camille Dello] to leave for Pointe-Noire. As a result, Milongo returned to his private residence some five kilometers (three miles) from the airport, the sources said.

#### Officers at Airport Comment

AB1801152892 *Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT 18 Jan 92*

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, Jan 18 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] "We received orders to stop the prime minister from leaving," a lieutenant with a Soviet-made machinegun told Agence France-Presse at the airport.

"We have no problems with the Congolese people but the defense minister must meet our demands," another officer added. [passage omitted]

The situation at the airport and in the Congolese capital was otherwise calm, but early Saturday afternoon security was tightened around the residence of President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

Some 40 army vehicles in the charge of the president's bodyguards have been stationed in the headquarters of Congo's former sole party, the Congolese Workers' Party, which is located near the presidential residence. About 30 jeeps were also positioned around the airport terminal and soldiers have taken over its customs offices. "They are not keeping us from working," a customs official told AFP.



**'31 July Formation' Supports Troops**

*AB1801212592 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1930 GMT 18 Jan 92*

["Motion of Support" from the 31 July Formation of Military Zone No. 1;—read by station announcer]

[Text] [From] Major (Fidele Kouka Gobe), commander of the 31 July Formation and head of corps of the tank battalion of Military Zone No. 1 to Brigadier General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko, Congolese Armed Forces [FAC] chief of general staff, Brazzaville.

Subject: Motion of support from the staff and rank and file of the 31 July Formation regarding the intervention of the staff and rank and file of the Brazzaville Garrison and the FAC High Command, headed by Brigadier General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko.

During and after the national conference, we took our oath of fidelity to the Congolese people and we guaranteed security and peace for them while forgetting about our sufferings and sorrows. Yet, we have noticed today that some political parties, particularly, the Forces of Change, are abusing our confidence by plotting coups d'etat. They are interfering in our objective grievances. This interference is even supported by a zone commander who forgets that since November 1990, the Army has stayed out of politics. This is why, we, the staff and rank and file of the 31 July Formation were very indignant and surprised to learn today, Friday, 17 January, at 1530 that after the intervention of the secretary of state for defense that the commander of Military Zone No. 1 has, on behalf of the staff and rank and file of Military Zone No. 1, supported the intervention of the government, read by its spokesman.

In view of what precedes, we, the staff and rank and file of the 31 July Formation of the Military Zone No. 1, hold the zone commander alone responsible for his acts and particularly for his communique read on national radio; disavow the command of the Military Zone No. 1; denounce the way he works and his disrespect for military regulations; firmly support the demands of the staff and rank and file of the Brazzaville garrison units and the FAC Military High Command headed by General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko; and calls on the Higher Council and [word indistinct] of the Republic to channel to the government the grievances of the staff and rank and file of the FAC defended by the High Command.

**Milongo Meets Army Chief**

*AB1801231092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 2236 GMT 18 Jan 92*

["Press Release" issued by the government in Brazzaville on 18 January; read by Paul N'Douna, minister of communications and government spokesman—live or recorded]

[Text] His Excellency Andre Milongo, prime minister, head of government, and commander in chief of the

Armed Forces, accompanied by three ministers, has received the Army Chief of the General Staff, General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko, who was accompanied by two of his advisers, in the presence of the first Deputy Chairman of the Higher Council of the Republic, (Jean-Michel Bokamba Yangouma).

They reviewed all the problems facing the Congolese Armed Forces, and which have led to the present crisis. The discussions took place in a fruitful and constructive climate and resulted in a number of conclusions which the prime minister will announce in a radio and television broadcast statement tomorrow, 19 January.

**Troops Said To Seize TV Center**

*AB2001061092 Paris AFP in English 0127 GMT 20 Jan 92*

[By Joseph Gouala]

[Text] Brazzaville, Jan 20 (AFP) - Rebellious Congolese troops on Sunday took over the national television centre in the capital Brazzaville, an Army officer told AFP.

The move was the latest in an on-going mutiny by Army units seeking the removal of the government of Prime Minister Andre Milongo.

It came after Milongo went on television and refused their demands to sack Michel Gangou, a junior defence minister, saying that to buckle under military pressure would "set an unfortunate precedent" and be contrary to the Congolese constitution.

Mutinous soldiers, who had gathered in downtown Brazzaville to hear Milongo's statement, stormed the television station, seized news copy from the reader and threw it to the floor, the Army officer told AFP.

The officer, a member of the mutinous unit but himself opposed to the action (eds correct), said loyalist troops might attempt to retake the television center Monday.

He said the rebellious soldiers were seeking the resignation of the government and wanted to impose a curfew.

In a rebellion which began on Wednesday, Army units have also surrounded the Army chief of staff headquarters and taken over Brazzaville airport, although on each occasion they have not paralysed everyday activity.

The rebellion is hindering moves towards democracy in this country which has been ruled since 1979 by President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. The president remains at his post, but the democratisation process is effectively undermining his power.

The take-over of the airport on Saturday was carried out to prevent Milongo from leaving for the country's economic capital of Pointe-Noire, where he was to have opened an offshore oil operation run by the U.S. company Amoco.

Soldiers from mechanised units have also been involved in the mutiny, which was sparked by Milongo's decision on Tuesday to reshuffle the top levels of the Armed Forces. Milongo is also the country's defence minister.

Shortly before Sunday's take-over of the TV centre, the U.S. embassy here expressed concern at the rebellion, warning against any attempt to halt the democratisation process in Congo.

An embassy statement said the United States considered any break in the process "contrary to the democratic aspirations of the Congolese people," as expressed in a national conference last June.

In addition to the removal of Gangouo, the soldiers have been demanding the reversal of the recent military appointments, and the reinstatement of those who were sacked.

In his television statement, Milongo agreed to the reinstatements but refused to sack Gangouo.

The officers who had been sacked were regarded as close to the chief of the general staff, Brigadier-General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko.

In Sunday's statement, Milongo also pledged that soldiers would receive a promised food bonus, and said military personnel, policemen and gendarmes who had been sacked through "political intolerance" would get their jobs back.

"The government's main concern is to get on with organising elections, in peace and serenity," the premier said.

#### **Troops Said To Oust Milongo, Impose Curfew**

*AB2001062092 Paris AFP in English 0624 GMT  
20 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, Jan 20 (AFP)—Congolese military authorities announced Monday that they had removed the country's interim prime minister from office and imposed a curfew in the capital.

In a statement read over national radio, the military High Command demanded that the interim legislature name a replacement for Prime Minister Andre Milongo, who has angered the Army by reshuffling its leadership.

Colonel Guy Mabiala, speaking for the Army, said no members of the High Command would take part in the new government. The announcement came during an ongoing mutiny by Army troops who seized the national television station Sunday.

#### **Further on Milongo; HCR To Meet**

*AB2001072992 Paris AFP in English 0647 GMT  
20 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, Jan 20 (AFP)—Congolese military officers announced Monday that they had removed the

country's interim prime minister from office and were imposing a curfew in the capital.

In a statement read over national radio, the officers demanded that the interim legislature name a replacement for Prime Minister Andre Milongo, who has angered the Army by reshuffling its leadership.

In the statement, Colonel Guy Mabiala, who heads a mechanized infantry regiment and said he was speaking for the military high command, said none of the Army leadership would take part in the new government.

The announcement came during an ongoing mutiny by Army troops who seized the national television station Sunday.

Mabiala said the curfew would come into effect at sundown to prevent any social unrest.

The mutiny was sparked Tuesday when Milongo decided to reshuffle the top levels of the Armed Forces. Milongo has also been serving as the country's defence minister.

In a television address Sunday, Milongo refused soldiers' demands that he sack Michel Gangouo, a junior defence minister, saying that to buckle under military pressure would "set an unfortunate precedent" and be contrary to the Congolese constitution.

Mutinous soldiers, who had gathered in downtown Brazzaville to hear Milongo's statement, stormed the television station, seized news copy from the reader and threw it to the floor, an Army officer told AFP.

The rebellion is hindering moves towards democracy in this country which has been ruled since 1979 by President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. The president remains at his post, but he lost much of his power after a national political conference last year which set up the interim civilian government.

Shortly before Sunday's take-over of the TV centre, the U.S. Embassy here expressed concern at the rebellion, warning against any attempt to halt the democratisation process in Congo.

An embassy statement said the United States considered any break in the process "contrary to the democratic aspirations of the Congolese people," as expressed in a national conference last June.

The officers who had been sacked were regarded as close to the chief of the general staff, Brigadier-General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko.

The interim legislature, the High Council of the Republic, was scheduled to meet later Monday on the Army's demands.

The military communique said, "The high command calls on the Council to fulfill its constitutional responsibilities and name a new prime minister."

It called the Milongo government "inefficient and incompetent."

### **Milongo Whereabouts Said Unknown**

*AB2001112092 Paris AFP in French 1046 GMT  
20 Jan 92*

[Text] Congolese Prime Minister Andre Milongo, whose resignation has been demanded since last night by the military command, has left his residence and taken refuge with his family in an unknown place, a communique broadcast by Congolese radio announced late this morning in Brazzaville.

The soldiers who transmitted this communique state that they do not know the whereabouts of the government leader. But, according to several reliable pieces of evidence, this morning soldiers stormed the premises [les locaux] of the prime minister.

### **Milongo Aides Summoned to Headquarters**

*AB2001122592 Paris AFP in French 1142 GMT  
20 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, 20 Jan (AFP)—In a communique broadcast on the radio late this morning, Congolese soldiers ordered security bosses of Prime Minister Andre Milongo, who has left his residence for an unknown destination, to "report immediately to headquarters to specify the whereabouts of Mr. Milongo." The soldiers "declined any responsibility for whatever might happen to Mr. Milongo and his family." The communique adds, however, that the prime and his family "need not be scared." The prime minister's aide-de-camp, the officer in charge of his personal security, and the central director of the Military Intelligence are "responsible for failing to report on Mr. Milongo's movements" and "should immediately report at the headquarters to indicate Mr. Milongo's whereabouts," the communique stated.

After soldiers prevented the prime minister from leaving Brazzaville for Pointe-Noire the morning of 18 January, the latter took refuge with his close associates and family in his private residence five km south of the capital. The soldiers later announced this morning in a communique broadcast on the radio that Mr. Milongo had left his residence with his family and taken refuge in an unknown spot.

### **Brazzaville Said 'Perfectly Calm'**

*AB2001132092 Paris AFP in French 1214 GMT  
20 Jan 92*

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, 20 Jan (AFP)—Congolese Prime Minister Andre Milongo, whose departure from office has been demanded by the Military High Command since last night, has left his residence to take refuge in an unknown place, according to a military communique broadcast this morning on the radio. The situation was

perfectly calm in the morning in Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire, the economic capital, according to a press correspondent contacted on the spot.

In Brazzaville, armed soldiers took up positions on the premises of the prime minister's office, and a group of soldiers is stationed in front of the Army headquarters and in front of the Treasury office. Other soldiers have taken over a bridge on the outskirts of the city toward Pointe-Noire. No incidents have been reported as of this morning. [passage omitted]

None of the government members could be contacted this morning by AFP. At Minister of Interior Alexis Gabou's house, a guard said he "could not talk," without giving further details.

The High Council of the Republic, on whom the military communique called to "preserve human lives," is expected to meet, and after two-thirds of its members have cast a vote of no confidence in the government, it could endorse the departure of the prime minister. [passage omitted]

At the French Embassy in Brazzaville, no special security measures had been taken by the middle of the morning. However, all eventualities have been envisaged, and plans for the protection of some 2,500 French nationals in Brazzaville as well as some hundreds of nationals of other Western countries were ready.

### **Milongo Aides Denounce Military Action**

*AB2001162592 Paris AFP in English 1609 GMT  
20 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, Jan 20 (AFP)—The Army's reported ouster of Congolese Prime Minister Andre Milongo came under fire from his close aides here on Monday in messages passed to AFP suggesting he might attempt a comeback.

Interior Minister Alexis Gabou insisted "the government remains the government" and denied that Milongo had in fact been ousted.

In a message conveyed via a French public relations firm which has handled the interim premier's PR [public relations], Milongo was said to be getting ready to speak out within hours.

Another statement issued by one of his advisers, Ludovic Miyouna, condemned what he called a coup d'etat and said Congo was once again "in the dark hours of military coups."

A military communique announcing Milongo's ouster said the Army would refuse portfolios in a new government.

### High Command Lifts Curfew

AB2001164692 Paris AFP in French 1608 GMT  
20 Jan 92

[Text] Brazzaville, 20 Jan (AFP)—The Congolese Armed Forces High Command this afternoon announced the lifting of the curfew in a radio broadcast communique, it was learned from informed sources in Brazzaville.

Following the meeting with the Higher Council of the Republic (HCR, the provisional legislative organ), the High Command "reiterates its demands made in the 15 January communique." These include the departure of the secretary of state for defense and the cancellation of the promotions made by the government.

The communique continues by stating that aside from lifting the curfew—imposed yesterday evening at 1900—the "security set-up" should be "reduced" and discussions are continuing with the HCR.

### Milongo Supporters, Paratroopers Clash

AB2001201592 Paris AFP in French 1955 GMT  
20 Jan 92

[Text] Brazzaville, 20 Jan (AFP)—One person was fatally shot in Brazzaville during incidents between supporters of the Congolese prime minister and airborne detachment paratroopers, it was learned from authorized sources in the Congolese capital today.

The victim, whose body was taken to the teaching hospital, was killed near the Moungoli market early this afternoon, it was learned from reliable Western sources.

### Five Said Killed During Clashes

AB2101091192 Paris AFP in French 0850 GMT  
21 Jan 92

[Text] Brazzaville, 21 Jan (AFP)—Five civilians were killed in Brazzaville yesterday during clashes between soldiers and supporters of Prime Minister Andre Milongo, official sources disclosed in Brazzaville this morning. These civilians, according to a communique from Interior Minister Alexis Gabou, "were killed while demonstrating in disapproval of the action of a handful of mutinous soldiers."

### HCR Official: Milongo in Brazzaville

AB2101094092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
0730 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Contrary to all earlier information—information which we, however, received from reliable sources—the Congolese prime minister is not on the run. He is reportedly in safe hiding in Brazzaville. This information was given by the first vice president of the Higher Council of the Republic [HCR], Jean Michel Bokamba-Yangouma, whom we questioned on the telephone just a few minutes ago. The first vice president first answered

the question on whether the HCR, which was asked to dismiss the prime minister, has already examined the issue:

[Begin recording] [Bokamba-Yangouma] If the soldiers have fallen on the HCR, it is because they believe they still have something to negotiate and we are examining their demands. We have held discussions with them and have reached an agreement. This morning we will meet with the prime minister and the government and we believe that, in principle, everything will go back to order. There is no fixed stand; we would like to reconcile all stands because we believe nothing is lost. Only dialogue and consultation can enable us to come out of this situation.

[Unidentified reporter] Which negotiation are you referring to since, according to certain sources, the prime minister is nowhere to be found?

[Bokamba-Yangouma] No. It is not true that the whereabouts of the prime minister are not known. He is in Brazzaville. Certainly, for security reasons he has adopted certain measures, but the prime minister is around. A meeting with the council has been slated for today and we believe that the prime minister will be present. That will, perhaps, be the only way to refute this rumor. [end recording]

### Milongo Supporters Hold Demonstration

AB2101120092 Paris AFP in French 1013 GMT  
21 Jan 92

[Text] Brazzaville, 21 Jan (AFP)—About 2,000 supporters of Congolese Prime Minister Andre Milongo whose departure the Army is seeking, gathered this morning to demonstrate their support for the head of government, it was noted in the Congolese capital. The OAU Avenue where the demonstration is taking place leads to a ward in the south of the city where the prime minister's residence is located. According to various generally well-informed sources, the prime minister reportedly returned here early this morning and reportedly called together the members of his government to decide on how to react to pressure from the soldiers.

While the rest of the city is calm, all access roads to the OAU Avenue have been blocked "in order to prevent the Army from deploying there," a demonstrator told AFP. "We will die for Milongo; until he speaks, we will not leave this place," said a demonstrator belonging to the Congolese Movement for Total Democracy and Development led by Bernard Kolela, one of the prime minister's staunch followers.

The High Council of the Republic [HCR] a sovereign legislative body and one of the transitional institutions established by the national conference, has summoned a government meeting for early this afternoon, the radio announced. It will later hold a plenary session.

In a television message yesterday evening, HCR Chairman Monsignor Ernest Kombo, urged "the youth



to avoid manipulation by politicians." The Army, the reverend father stated, "does not want to waste the fruits of its sacrifices made during the national conference."

On the other hand, the information given by Interior Minister Alexis Gabou claiming that five civilians had died in the clashes between the Army and the demonstrators was not confirmed this morning. According to several hospital officials, only three bodies had been deposited at the mortuary.

### President's Elder Brother Released on Bail

*AB1701145092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1200 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Text] It was learned from judicial sources this morning that Maurice Nguesso, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso's elder brother, was released on bail yesterday. This measure will in no way stop the ongoing legal action against the accused. The prosecutor's office will, therefore, follow up the legal action against Mr. Nguesso.

## Rwanda

### Security Council Issues Statement on Demonstrations

*EA1701143092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Text] The Kigali Town Prefecture Security Council has assessed the damage resulting from the repeated demonstrations of 8 and 15 January and has briefed the public on it in a communique published yesterday to that effect.

Concerning the authorized demonstration of 8 January, the Security Council regretted the fact that the demonstration went beyond the bounds of what was prescribed by the law, the political parties having mobilized their members in all areas of the capital, and which resulted in regrettable excesses.

Concerning the unauthorized demonstration of 15 January, the Council regretted the fact that the demonstrators had indulged purely and simply in acts of vandalism which resulted in significant material damage, including damage caused to government and personal vehicles, one damaged kiosk, and an attack on the Sainte-Famille Education Center which resulted in significant material damage and the injury of one pupil.

The Council noted that certain demonstrators were in possession of cutting and thrusting weapons which they used in committing their crimes. Two grenades were even seized from them.

The Council, therefore, wonders whether this is not a veiled form of insidious guerrilla warfare linked with the one currently occurring on the country's northern border. If this is the case, the whole population is called upon to double its vigilance.

### New Rules for Demonstrations

*EA1801102892 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Statement by Information Minister Professor Fidel Nkundabagenzi after 17 January Council of Ministers meeting—recorded]

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers met today under the chairmanship of his excellency the president of the Republic. [passage omitted] The Council of Ministers was informed about the damage caused by the demonstrations held in Kigali on 8 and 15 January. While recognizing that the Constitution and laws allow the freedom to assemble peacefully, the Council once again condemned the behavior of some parties which organized unauthorized demonstrations on 15 January. It reminded the political parties about the legal dispositions related to demonstrations, particularly decree No. 33/91 of 5 August 1991 on demonstrations in public places and meetings.

In order to better ensure security and order during the demonstrations, the Council of Ministers decided that henceforth demonstrations will only be authorized on days which are not work days. Moreover, the organizers of the demonstrations will give guarantees in advance that the demonstrations will be peaceful and that if any kind of damage results, they will bear the civil and penal responsibilities. The commitments made by the organizers of demonstrations will be part of a written contract between representatives of the political parties and the administration. The Council deplored the type of demonstration which affects the liberties of those not participating and which harms the country's economy and could contribute to facilitating the infiltration of the enemy into the country. Last, the Council of Ministers hailed the peace and serenity shown by the population and their cooperation with the security forces and invited them to persevere on that path. Thank you.

### Civilians, Rebels Said Killed in Recent Fighting

*AB2101095992 Paris AFP in English 1906 GMT 20 Jan 92*

[Text] Kigali, Jan 20 (AFP)—Patriotic Front rebels in Rwanda killed 20 civilians in weekend attacks, while government troops killed 24 guerrillas, military H.Q. said here Monday. The civilians died in raids on two villages in the north-eastern Muvumba region, and survivors fled as the rebels pillaged their homes.

Soldiers and rebels fought for an hour at Kiyombe, also in the north-east, with 14 rebels killed, the military said.

In a third attack by the front in the north-west between Gahinga and Sabyinyo volcanos overnight Saturday, [18 January] 10 more rebels were killed.

## Zaire

### Reportage on National Conference Developments

#### Government Stops Paying Lodging Expenses

AB1901103892 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
0730 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] A new controversy has broken out between the Zairian Government and the delegates to the national conference, who have protested against the announcement by the government on 17 January that it will no longer pay for their accommodation in Kinshasa. The government, which has spoken of financial difficulties, asked them to occupy the houses put at their disposal at the Nsele residential complex located 80 km from the city.

Many delegates immediately reacted by rejecting the measure because, according to them, it was a manipulation aimed at disrupting the continuation of the national conference's deliberations. Let us listen to our correspondent, Kamanda wa Kamanda, reporting from Kinshasa:

[Begin recording] Many delegates withdrew from the national conference. Many of those from Shaba Province are even to leave Kinshasa at the request of the governor of that mining province. Those from the Equateur Province had been the first to have asked to be sent back home, which should be done shortly.

Meanwhile, the political parties and other organizations close to the president have already decided to suspend their participation in the deliberations of this forum. This situation is caused by the issue of balanced representation for all the provinces.

In the meantime, the government has spoken increasingly of the financial difficulties it is confronted with in continuing to cover the costs of the national conference. All the participants who remained in Kinshasa were kindly requested to go to their new lodging place, Nsele village, located some 60 km [as heard] away from Kinshasa. Furthermore, the hotel owners in the Zairian capital have received a memorandum stating that the government will no longer take charge of lodging and meals for the participants. The measure is to become effective as of today.

But to avert any possibilities, those who are keen about continuing the national conference deliberations are already putting forward the idea of calling for nationwide contributions, an issue to be discussed at the national conference. This is why attending it is deemed important, after all.

Also, there is a warning from the Zairian trade unions, which have threatened to decree an indefinite strike if the national sovereign conference deliberations become deadlocked. [end recording]

#### Power Outage Disrupts Media; Coverage

AB1901174092 Paris AFP in French 1929 GMT  
18 Jan 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 18 Jan (AFP)—Zairian television and radio programs were interrupted for about three hours this afternoon due to a power failure between 1600 and 1900 local time (1500 and 1800 GMT). Radio programs were still unheard at 2000.

The Zairian Radio and Television Services management said that all transmitting systems experienced the power failure, the first of this magnitude for the Zairian communication network.

Listeners and viewers were denied the live coverage of the national conference, whose deliberations will resume on 21 January.

The problem of accommodating the delegates coming from the interior of the country is expected to be solved that day. The government is no longer in charge of this problem.

#### Government Suspends Conference Proceedings

AB1901220692 Paris AFP in English 2157 GMT  
19 Jan 92

[Text] Kinshasa, Jan 19 (AFP)—The Zairian Government announced late Sunday [19 January] it was suspending "until further notice" the proceedings of a national conference set up to chart a democratic future for the country.

The announcement was made by the prime minister, Nguza Karl-I. Bond, in a televised statement.

Nguza said certain decisions taken by the national conference seemed of a nature to "create a political crisis in the country".

He said he had ordered the ministers of the interior, defense and security and justice "to ensure the application of the laws of the Republic with all their force".

#### Further on Suspension of Conference

AB2001090092 Paris AFP in English 2322 GMT  
19 Jan 92

[By Mario Fiorito]

[Text] Kinshasa, Jan 19 (AFP)—The Zairian Government said late Sunday that it was suspending "until further notice" the proceedings of a national conference set up to chart a democratic future for the country. In a televised statement, Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond said the latest phase of the conference was "likely to create a political crisis in the country."

Apparently fearing trouble because of the move, Nguza said he had ordered the ministers of the interior, defence and security and justice "to apply of the laws of the republic with full force."



The suspension of the conference came as the supporters of President Mobutu Sese Seko within the body have been coming increasingly into conflict with its other members, who notably include representatives of the "Holy Alliance" opposition grouping.

In an initial reaction late on Sunday, a Holy Alliance official said the move was "a new manoeuvre" by Mobutu's supporters.

He said the opposition grouping was to meet on Monday to consider its next move. Observers said the suspension was likely to cause widespread public anger and possibly violence.

A power struggle between Mobutu's supporters and the rest of the national conference has been building for some time.

Earlier on Sunday the government said that several motions adopted by the conference were "unconstitutional" and inconsistent with the government's terms of reference for the conference. The government stand is over a refusal by conference delegates to be accommodated at President Mobutu's retreat at N'sele, 80 kilometers (50 miles) outside Kinshasa, and thus at the president's personal expense. On Friday the government announced that upcountry delegates' hotel and restaurant bills could no longer be met from government funds "due to budget cuts," but that they could be lodged for free at N'sele.

The delegates' refusal to accept this is "unconstitutional," the government said Sunday, expressing "deep concern" over the national conference's decisions.

The dispute follows a refusal by a majority of delegates to accept the government's plan to change the basis on which delegates represent regions they come from in this sprawling and troubled central African state. Analysts said the government and the forces around Mobutu appeared determined to use all means at their disposal to disrupt the conference, if not to destroy it completely. Under the chairmanship of Kisangani Archbishop Mosengwo, the conference has effectively come under the control of forces bent on reforming the regime, which has been in Mobutu's iron grip for over a quarter-century.

Delegates close to Mobutu have quit the conference, but enough remain in the conference to maintain a decision-making quorum.

The conference resumed last month after a three-month suspension following riots and widespread looting, the intervention of Belgian and French troops, and the mass departure of foreign nationals.

The September riots, led by unpaid soldiers, erupted after an earlier breakdown of the national conference.

On Thursday the national AZAP news agency said that eight people had died in ethnic clashes in the southern region of Shaba.

### Nguza Announces Conference Suspension

LD2001153592 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television Network in French 1230 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The Prime Minister announced the suspension of the proceedings of the sovereign national conference yesterday: What are the reasons for this? Let us listen to the Prime Minister:

[begin Nguza Karl-I-Bond recording] My dear fellow countrymen, these are grave times. On Saturday, 18 January 1992, the government of the Republic, through its spokesman, made known its firm determination to have the constitution respected and to protect the institutions. [here follows 26-second break in transmission] ...informed of the situation of political crisis created by the decisions of the sovereign national conference at its plenary session on 18 January 1992, thus violating the letter and the spirit of the constitution of the republic. To this end the head of state will receive me on Monday, 20 January 1992.

Moreover, public opinion should know that sharp tension prevails in the interior of the country: acts of violence have been reported, notably at Fungurome in Shaba, where regrettably we have had dead and injured. The public also knows that several conference delegates are already taking the road home to their respective regions. In these conditions, in my capacity as prime minister and the organizing authority of the sovereign national conference, I judged it necessary in the higher interest of the nation to suspend the proceedings of the sovereign national conference until further notice.

As the government has to guarantee public order and preserve the security of people and property, I have today instructed the ministers of the interior and community development; national defense, territorial security and war veterans, as well as that of justice and keeper of the seals to have the laws of the Republic applied in all their rigor.

My dear fellow countrymen, the main aim of the national conference, which was convened by the head of state, is to reconcile the Zairian people with each other and to prepare the institutions of the Third Republic. I thus maintain the firm hope of seeing the people of this country very rapidly regain their peaceful spirits and national concord. As I have always said, however long the night may be, Almighty God will watch over our people so that finally day will break again.

Long live the Republic of Zaire. [end recording]

### Nguza Said To Favor Early Elections

LD2001200492 Paris Radio France International in French 1918 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Zairian Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond has just affirmed this evening that he favors the organization of early legislative elections more than a continuation of the national conference. However, that is simply a suggestion, he stated during an interview with the foreign press.

### **Sacred Union Calls for Meeting 21 Jan**

AB2101063692 Paris AFP in English 0503 GMT  
21 Jan 92

[Text] Kinshasa, Jan 21 (AFP)—The Zaire opposition on Monday called on members of a suspended national conference to meet on Tuesday, in defiance of a government order.

In a statement released here, the Holy Alliance, an opposition umbrella movement, urged participants in the national conference to gather Tuesday morning at the People's Palace in Kinshasa, where previous meetings of the conference had been held.

It said it rejected Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond's order Sunday to suspend the conference, which was to chart democratic reforms for Zaire.

The opposition urged "the fighting population of Kinshasa to accompany the conference members" to the People's Palace and called on all Zairians to stage protests beginning Tuesday to demand the immediate resumption of the forum.

There were isolated demonstrations in the outskirts of Kinshasa on Monday to protest against the government's order, with protestors setting up barricades and marching in the streets.

The conference had resumed last month after a three-month suspension following riots and widespread looting, the intervention of Belgian and French troops, and the mass departure of foreigners last fall.

In a televised statement Sunday, Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond said he was suspending the conference because it could lead to ethnic conflicts and the partition of the country.

On Monday he told foreign journalists that he would be in favor of holding early legislative elections for a new parliament which would be charged with drafting a constitution.

### **Troops Block Access to Palais du Peuple**

AB2101113092 Paris AFP in French 1032 GMT  
21 Jan 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 21 Jan (AFP)—Access to the Palais du Peuple, where the Zairian national conference is held, was blocked by troops this morning, an AFP reporter observed at the scene. The opposition parties within the Sacred Union, which rejected the government decision to suspend the conference proceedings, yesterday evening had earlier declared their intention to go to the Palais du Peuple. To this end, they had launched "an appeal to the combatant people of Kinshasa to support and massively accompany delegates to the Palais du Peuple at 0900 today."

By 1100, there were no particular disturbances in Kasavubu district where the Palais du Peuple is located. Meanwhile, a large number of security forces, gendarmerie, and brigades blocked every access to the Palais du Peuple.

### **Demonstrations Noted in Kinshasa**

AB2001104892 Paris AFP in French 1007 GMT  
20 Jan 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 20 Jan (AFP)—Demonstrations have been going on since early this morning in outlying areas of Kinshasa, according to eyewitnesses on the spot.

In particular, demonstrators in the Lemba quarter (northeastern part of the city) have set up barricades and been marching along the streets deserted by motorists. Also, in the working-class quarter of Kimbassani on the road to the Ndjili Airport, traffic was disrupted by demonstrators who occupied the road, according to the same witnesses.

Furthermore, most of the taxis and other public vehicles were not operating in the morning, and schools sent their students back home.

The demonstrations follow the announcement last night by Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond to suspend deliberations at the national conference.

### **'Resurgence of Tension' Reported**

AB2001142592 Paris AFP in French 1247 GMT  
20 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Kinshasa, 20 Jan (AFP)—Zaire, where the situation has been relatively normal for two months, is experiencing a resurgence of tension after the government decision last night to suspend the national conference deliberations. This morning demonstrations took place in various outlying areas of Kinshasa, according to eyewitnesses on the spot. Demonstrators set up barricades and marched in streets deserted by motorists. In the center of the city, however, the situation was normal. [passage omitted]

Opposition parties united under the Sacred Union have not as yet reacted to the government decision to suspend the deliberations of the conference, describing the decision simply as a "new maneuver." They are expected to meet later in the morning to make a decision. They threatened to call for civil disobedience and a general strike if the conference deliberations were blocked.

Political observers note that if the democratic process, as solidified by the national conference, is compromised in Zaire, the slight revival Mr. Nguza Karl-I-Bond has started with Western countries and foreign businessmen runs the risk of being seriously jeopardized.

(In Brussels, the Belgian minister of foreign affairs "strongly condemned" the Zairian Government's suspension of the deliberations of the national conference, saying that such a decision "slurs the credibility of the Zairian authorities.")

**Djibouti****Army Said To Kill 100 Rebels in Kalaf Area**

AB1901170992 Paris AFP in English 1628 GMT  
19 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Djibouti, Jan 19 (AFP)—The Djibouti National Army said Sunday [19 January] it had killed 100 rebels and lost five of its own men in "mopping up" operations Saturday [18 January] in the Kalaf area, near Tadjoura, northwest of here.

Several sources said the Army had been conducting similar operations in the southeastern district of Dikhil since Friday [17 January] against the rebel Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD), but the sources gave no casualty figures. [passage omitted]

**'Foreign Troops' Suffer 'Heavy Losses'**

EA2001102592 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali  
1700 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] A report from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Djibouti says the Armed Forces and the security forces of Djibouti launched attacks on foreign enemies in Kharab and (Bekaneb) districts near Tadjoura on 18 January. The government forces inflicted heavy losses on the foreign troops. According to the report, the foreign enemy force left 100 dead, while Djibouti troops lost five men with 10 others wounded.

The Defense Ministry report also says that fighting took place in Dikhil when armed groups attacked Daudawiya village and that the armed and security forces are continuing their pursuit.

On 17 January, fighting took place in Gagade District where the enemy lost about 50 men. The government troops lost 11 men with nine others wounded.

**Premier Denies 'Reconsidering' 'French Presence'**

EA2001211292 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali  
1700 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou, the prime minister of the republic of Djibouti, whose other portfolio is national planning, last night returned home after ending his visit to Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

In his visit, the prime minister was accompanied by a large delegation, including Ismail Ali, the minister of defense, and Moumin Bahdon Farah, the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation. During his seven-day stay in those countries, Mr. Barkat had delivered messages from president Hassan Gouled Aptidon to the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian leaders.

Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou has denied a report published by the proscribed Saudi AL-TAYAT newspaper to the effect that he had announced that Djibouti was reconsidering the French presence in the country.

Holding a news conference this morning, Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou described the report as baseless and without foundation.

**Somalia****Committees To Oversee Port, Airport Security**

EA1801122092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali  
0330 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The chairman of the United Somali Congress, [USC] in consultation with the deputy chairman and the second deputy chairman, [words indistinct] (?appointed) security committees to maintain security at the port, the central fuel depot, and the airport. [passage indistinct] The committees are responsible for the defense and security of these areas in accordance with the security and defense program adopted by the USC Central Committee on 24 July 1991. The committees will, during the current state of emergency, be under the command of USC forces and will cooperate and collaborate with other security committees in their respective zones. The committees will also implement directives issued by USC forces command whenever there are important operations and their assistance is required. [passage omitted]

**USC's Aidid Hosts Meeting on Fighting, Situation**

EA2001124592 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali  
1820 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Today at the organization's headquarters in Mogadishu Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid, the chairman of the United Somali Congress [USC], met clergymen, elders, intellectuals, and members of the administration and security committee. The meeting dealt with matters pertaining to the maintenance of peace, implementation of the USC's policies, and working jointly for the interests of the Somali people. The participants in the meeting briefed the USC chairman on a number of points they had adopted. These points are as follows: to stop the current fighting, to form a USC peacekeeping force, to bring to a halt bad practices such as the looting, [word indistinct] houses, robbery of public property, to facilitate the restoration of peace to such areas as [words indistinct] and Hodon and the return of those who had fled from their homes.

For his part, Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid, the chairman of the USC, thanked the participants in the meeting for the positive attitude they had shown and called upon them to prepare to participate in [word indistinct]. He added that he very much regretted the problems faced by the Somali people, saying that there were some personalities who [words indistinct] the shedding of the innocent brother people's blood.

He said since the start of the Mogadishu fighting he had (?written) seven times to the effect that a cease-fire be implemented, but unfortunately this was not accepted. Chairman Aidid went on to say that the manifesto group [which in June 1990 called on Siad Barre to resign] was



responsible for the current problems in the country because the Somali people's unity and coexistence was [words indistinct] without consulting with the people and also with those fronts which were in the forefront in the struggle to topple Siad Barre. After the overthrow [of Siad Barre], this group wanted the fighting to continue between the brother people, all of whom are USC supporters, and [words indistinct] Siad Barre who wanted to return to power after the people had been decimated. [passage omitted]

#### **Southern Somali National Movement Cited**

*EA2001194092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali  
1700 GMT 20 Jan 92*

[Text] A spokesman for the Southern Somali National Movement has made it clear that the organization very much welcomed the important decision made by the United Somali Congress to end the oppressive problems facing the Somali people and to observe a cease-fire.

The spokesman went on to say that his organization welcomed the calls being made by the UN, the OAU, the Arab League, the Islamic Conference Organization, the United States, and Britain, all of which had previously appealed for a cease-fire in order to stop the loss of Somali blood and to try to attain national unity in Somalia.

The spokesman appealed to the world to rush humanitarian aid to save Somalia from the crisis. He made it clear that everyone was welcome to participate in solving the multifaceted dilemma facing the Somali people, which he said had been created by the former dictator, who is still hiding in the country, and the manifesto group.

### **Tanzania**

#### **Government Criticizes Zambia for Nationals' Arrests**

*MB1801142792 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English  
1100 GMT 18 Jan 92*

[Text] Tanzania has criticized the authorities in Zambia for arresting 120 Tanzanians as part of a campaign against illegal immigrants.

The Foreign Ministry in Dar es Salaam summoned the Zambian High Commissioner and demanded that Zambia stop harassing Tanzanians on its territory and either charge those who had been arrested or release them.

The Zambian Government has said it is doing everything it can to resolve the problem by deporting those who have entered the country illegally and by releasing the others.

#### **Ruling Party's Top Body To Discuss Multipartyism**

*EA1801092292 Nairobi KNA in English 1020 GMT  
17 Jan 92*

[Excerpt] Dodoma, Tanzania, 7th January [date as received] (KNA/PANA)—Tanzania's supreme policy-making body, the National Executive Committee [NEC] of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM—Party of the Revolution) [Revolutionary Party of Tanzania] starts deliberations Friday [17 January] on Tanzania's choice between one-party rule or multi-partyism. The four-day seating of CCM's Executive Committee has been especially convened by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who is also chairman of the sole political party, to discuss a preliminary report of the commission he has formed to seek views of the people on whether or not Tanzania should remain a one-party state. The NEC session follows a two-day session of the party Central Committee which convened in the future capital of Tanzania, Dodoma, chaired by the president [and] which drew the agenda of today's crucial session. Whatever decision that would be taken by the 177-member committee will have to be ratified by the party's national conference, also convened by the president for next month, 18th February.

The NEC session is a climax of a year-long debate on a suitable political system which has been participated by a substantial number of Tanzanians across the country. [sentence as received] But of late most Tanzanian leaders have been saying publicly that (?change) for multi-partyism was inevitable because the wind of change was a reality which would not spare Tanzania. Most categorically, Tanzanian founder President Julius Nyerere, now a private citizen after voluntary retirement, told a press conference at the end of the year that time was ripe for Tanzania to adopt multi-partyism, arguing that a substantial minority existed who wanted pluralism and they were citizens who cannot be ignored.

It was Nyerere who started the debate in 1990 before retiring as party chairman. [passage omitted]

#### **Discussions Continue on Multipartyism**

*EA1901113592 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
Network in Swahili 0400 GMT 19 Jan 92*

[Text] Dodoma—The National Executive Council [NEC] continued its four-day session in Dodoma on 18 January until evening and discussed the appropriate future political system for Tanzania, among other things. In yesterday's discussion, about 20 speakers advised that it was time that Tanzania reintroduced multiparty politics. The speakers demanded, however, that constitutional, historical, and political steps be taken to safeguard the country against any adverse political and security consequences that might be caused by the introduction of political pluralism. The meeting is discussing the presidential commission report on a single or multi-party system for today's Tanzania. The NEC will continue its session tomorrow morning.

### CCM Proposes Multiparty System

EA2101121492 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
Network in Swahili 0330 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the press review]

[Text] On the front page of the DAILY NEWS there is a group photo showing the father of the nation, Mwalimu Julius Kabarage Nyerere; the chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Party [CCM], President Ali Hassan Mwinyi; the prime minister and first vice president, Brother John Malecela; and the CCM secretary general, Brother Kolimba, at a meeting at Dodoma State Lodge. Above the photo, the DAILY NEWS carries the banner headline: The National Executive Committee [NEC] Proposes a Multiparty System.

The CCM NEC has unanimously decided to propose to a special national conference that a multiparty system be introduced in Tanzania. Let us listen to our correspondent, Ben Kiko, from Dodoma:

[Kiko] The NEC, which ended its session in Dodoma last night, reached this decision after receiving and discussing an earlier Presidential Commission report on whether to maintain the one-party system in Tanzania or to introduce a multiparty system. The special national conference will be held in Dar es Salaam in February this year. The call by the NEC, which proposes to the special national conference the introduction of a multiparty system is as follows:

Given that the NEC, at its ordinary session in February 1990 [as heard; should be 1991], carefully scrutinized the changes taking place in Africa and the world as a whole, and finally decided to initiate dialogue in the country on whether to continue with the one-party system or to introduce the multiparty system in Tanzania;

Given that the president of the United Republic of Tanzania formed a commission to supervise this dialogue and advise on the need for mutual respect during the process;

Given that, at the end of the dialogue, the Presidential Commission presented to the president a report proposing the introduction of a multiparty system in Tanzania;

After careful analysis of the proposal by the Presidential Commission presented to us by the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, we, the members of the NEC who met in Dodoma from 17 to 20 January, taking into consideration Article 743 of the constitution of the CCM party, unanimously agree to present to the special national conference the proposal presented by the Presidential Commission—that a multiparty system be introduced in Tanzania.

In order to ensure that the change from the current system to a multiparty one in the country is peaceful and conducted in a politically stable atmosphere and within national solidarity, the NEC proposes to the special national conference that the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, in

collaboration with the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government, amend the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania so that the issue of registering political parties in the country, and issues connected with this, can be based on the union.

The political parties should be given special requirements to ensure that they are national parties which take into consideration the two parts of the union, and that they are not parties whose aims are to divide the people or the country. They should not be parties that favor one part of the union or divide the people along tribal, religious, regional, or racial lines.

Changing the status of the CCM as the sole party which has full and comprehensive powers will require many changes in the party constitution, therefore, some amendments to the party constitution should be made at the same time as the changes to the country's Constitutions. The NEC proposes to the special national conference that it [word indistinct] its authority to amend the party constitution and the composition of the NEC. The NEC proposes to the special national conference to direct the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government to take steps aimed at amending the Constitutions of the country, especially regarding the relevant articles on a one-party system in accordance with the current situation. The governments should also introduce laws in accordance with NEC directives.

During the period from the end of the special national conference to a general election under a multiparty system, the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Zanzibar Council of Representatives, and the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government, which were elected in 1990 in accordance with the Constitution, shall continue ruling our country and the CCM shall continue to be the ruling party.

### Uganda

#### Army Reportedly Kills 30 Rebels, Arrests 300

EA1801195092 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
External Service in English 1600 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Kampala—The Ugandan Army has killed more than 30 northern rebels in recent fighting and arrested 300. The government NEW VISION newspaper quoted Captain (Ronald Kitunguka) as saying that 1,400 people accused of being rebel sympathizers had surrendered in the northeast and (also) are being detained in military camps. The rebels were killed during a battle in Soroti, a remote northeastern town, 190 kilometers from the capital, Kampala.

A new round of military operations against the rebel Uganda People's Army, UPA, and the religiously inspired United Christian Democratic Army started in early December.

Last month the government denied a report by [the] human rights group, Amnesty International, accusing the Ugandan Army of torture, execution and detention of thousands to suppress the rebellion.

**Zach de Beer Comments on Codesa Committee Meeting**  
*MB1401184592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 13 Jan 92*

[Interview with Dr. Zach de Beer, management committee chairman of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, by Clarence Keyter; from the "Agenda" program—recorded; introduced by South African Broadcasting Corporation presenter Marietta Kruger]

[Text] [Kruger] The Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] today had a change of form with the creation of a management committee. This was the committee's first meeting this year since its inauguration before Christmas of last year. After the meeting, which took place at a hotel at Jan Smuts Airport, Clarence Keyter spoke to Dr. Zach de Beer, chairman of the management committee.

[Begin video recording] [Keyter] Dr. De Beer, Codesa's steering committee effectively became the management committee today. Does this mean that we are going to see a change of approach in future?

[De Beer] Not a change of approach but, I hope, an improvement in approach. We are in the process of developing a management-orientated way of doing things with the aim of being more effective. Before the first Codesa meeting before Christmas last year we had to do many things in haste. We would now like to be a bit more systematic. The management committee is made up of the same people who formed the steering committee.

[Keyter] Doctor, the absence of the Zulu king at Codesa last month led to a crisis. Was this issue, as well as that of the involvement of other traditional leaders, discussed today? Did you reach a decision?

[De Beer] No decision, but we did discuss the issue, and a subcommittee made up of management committee members with special knowledge of traditional leaders was appointed. This subcommittee will now examine all the implications, and report to the management committee which, in turn, will then decide whether and how such leaders can be accommodated within the framework of Codesa.

[Keyter] One of the resolutions accepted by Codesa was that its decisions must be made legally binding. Did you make any progress today toward some mechanism in this regard?

[De Beer] No. The matter did not arise today. I think we all accept that Parliament must take into account decisions taken by Codesa. In the new South Africa, Parliament will not table legislation without taking into account the views of those in our population not represented in Parliament. So there is a kind of built-in influence of Codesa decisions on legislation. But we did not discuss that today; I'm merely stating a fact.

[Keyter] Can we expect something in that direction in the near future? In the light of events at Codesa, it would seem that if this does not happen, Codesa itself will collapse.

[De Beer] I'm sure we will see something in that direction. What I am not so clear about is where the initiative must come from.

[Keyter] But should it not come from Codesa?

[De Beer] No. Look, Codesa must make its views clear, but the government, which controls Parliament... [changes thought] Parliament is at present still the only body which can approve legislation, so Parliament will have to decide what action to take in the light of Codesa decisions.

[Keyter] So, hypothetically speaking, Parliament can scuttle Codesa decisions.

[De Beer] Yes. If Parliament refused to give effect to Codesa's decisions—or, worse still, if Parliament decided to oppose Codesa's decisions—then we would have a crisis. I do not for a moment believe that that will happen, though.

[Keyter] Codesa is made up of political parties. South Africa, though, does not only consist of political parties. What are the chances of other parties or organizations, church groups, trade unions, and the like, having a say?

[De Beer] We feel that such bodies ought to have their rightful and proper input. We do not think it possible, however, to give full Codesa membership to each and every organization in the country, because the whole thing would then simply become impossibly large. So we are keeping to the policy that Codesa must consist of political parties and organizations, but through our working groups, all these interest groups are given a chance to make representations, which are then taken into account by Codesa.

[Keyter] Can we expect a change in the approach of the working groups?

[De Beer] The working groups will only begin operating next week. I am sure that in their deliberations they will deal with one or more important aspects of our agenda and put forward proposals which will, hopefully, be acceptable to future full sessions of Codesa.

[Keyter] Dr., am I correct in saying that the working groups will meet behind closed doors?

[De Beer] Yes, that is so. They will meet behind closed doors and will first report to the Management Committee, and later to a full public session of Codesa.

[Keyter] Do you think this is a healthy practice, Dr.? The decisions taken during the negotiations involve every South African, not only political parties and organizations. Is this not somewhat clandestine?



[De Beer] Look, I would say that I am a man who believes, in principle, that as much as possible of the political processes should take place in public. My experience, however, especially in Parliament, is that at a certain stage of preparations for legislation or proposals there is a great advantage in meeting behind closed doors where people feel free to compromise and to change their views.

[Keyter] To compromise on behalf of the public?

[De Beer] No, compromise usually makes it possible for broader support for a certain idea. The standing committees of Parliament fulfill this role, and, being a strong critic of the tricameral system of Parliament, I would like to say that I have been very impressed by this one aspect. Legislation must eventually be discussed and accepted in public.

[Keyter] Dr., earlier you mentioned the other people involved. You also said that you would invite other organizations, church groups, trade unions, and the like. What about political organizations which are not members of Codesa?

[De Beer] Some of these political organizations have already applied. They must be investigated. Some of their names have already appeared in the media, for example, Boervolk [Boer Nation], FIDA [Federal Independent Democratic Alliance], the National Forum. Others' names have not yet been mentioned, and I would rather not mention them here.

[Keyter] Is this significant?

[De Beer] Well, this is what should be determined. The test, as the president already stated in his address of 2 February 1990, is a political organization with existing support—the problem lies in defining existing support. We will try to introduce criteria to determine this, and also information by which one can decide if that support is significant enough. This is being studied by the management.

[Keyter] Dr., if you do not succeed in involving all political parties and organizations in Codesa, what then?

[De Beer] It depends entirely on how strong those parties are. Then it will be important to decide if they have significant or sufficient support. If we should refuse a strong political party membership, it could possibly create commotion in South Africa. There are dozens of parties, some smaller than the smallest party represented here, and we cannot possibly allow membership to another 20 or 30 political parties and organizations. We must draw the line somewhere, and this will not be easy.  
[end recording]

#### **IFP, Bophuthatswana Agree To Sign Codesa Pact**

MB1701184992 Johannesburg NEW NATION  
in English 17-23 Jan 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "U-Turn: Inkatha and Bop [Bophuthatswana] Agree To Sign the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Declaration"]

[Text] Inkatha and Bophuthatswana [Bop] this week backed down on their earlier rejection of the declaration of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and said they would be signing the document.

Their turn-about came amid mounting opposition to their unrestricted participation in the negotiating forum.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana government were the only participants at Codesa who refused to sign the convention's Declaration of Intent in December last year.

Sources close to this week's meeting of the Codesa management committee said that, had the IFP and Bop government refused to sign the declaration, limitations might have been placed on the two during the working groups' deliberations, which start next week.

But Bop chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje, denied that his government's refusal to sign the declaration was raised at all during this week's management committee meeting.

Not everyone agrees with Cronje. Codesa's management committee chairperson and Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, for example, told NEW NATION that the IFP's and Bophuthatswana government's refusal to sign the declaration was raised at this week's meeting.

The issue was raised in the context of objections from other delegates to the IFP's and Bophuthatswana's participation in Codesa's working committees despite the two parties' refusal to sign the declaration.

It was at this point that Inkatha and Bophuthatswana did an about-turn and indicated their willingness to sign.

De Beer said the two delegations did not raise their initial complaints about the document nor did they indicate when they would sign.

He said they, however, indicated that "they will be able to sign before long" and the matter was immediately dropped.

Cronje said they objected to the declaration's "exact wording, but that does not mean that we do not go along with the spirit and intentions of Codesa".

He said the Bop government did not understand the signing of the declaration as a "priority issue" and he added that they had no problem in implementing Codesa's decisions except on the question of the re-incorporation of the TBVC states: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Cronje said that if Codesa decided that the TBVC homelands should be re-incorporated, the proposal would be put to a referendum. This represents another major shift in Bophuthatswana's opposition to re-incorporation. Until now, Bop president Lucas Mangope remained adamant in his opposition to a referendum to decide on the homeland's future.

The IFP's objection centred around the absence of any provision in the declaration allowing for regional governments in a federal South Africa. For IFP president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the federal option seems the only sure way of guaranteeing some power base for himself in a future South Africa.

IFP delegation leader at Codesa, Dr Frank Mdlalose, tabled an amendment during his party's objection at the first Codesa meeting saying that his party was prepared to sign the declaration provided the amendments were effected. This proposal was not repeated at Monday's meeting.

Meanwhile, the IFP's demand that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini should have his own delegation at Codesa has been referred to a special sub-committee which was appointed at this week's management committee meeting.

The sub-committee will look at the IFP's demands as well as suggestions of the appointment of a Task Force to consult with all traditional leaders on their input for the new constitution.

The sub-committee is expected to report on its findings at Codesa II, which will then take a final decision on the matter.

#### **Transkei Leader Wants Homeland's Borders Extended**

*MB1701073092 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Text] The Transkeian military ruler, Bantu Holomisa, says Transkei should extend its borders rather than be divided into two sections, as has been proposed.

Addressing the Transkeian delegation to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] at Umtata, General Holomisa said Transkei should stretch from the Umzimkulu River in the east, to the Great Fish River in the west. This area includes the present Ciskei, the Border region, and much of the Natal south coast.

#### **Committee Urges Reexamination of Value-Added Tax**

*MB1501151692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1446 GMT 15 Jan 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: Congress of South African Trade Unions, Wednesday, 15 January 1992: "Co-ordinating Committee on VAT [value-added tax] press release 15 January 1992; Co-ordinating Committee on VAT issues ultimatum on Barend du Plessis"]

[Text] [Minister of Finance] Barend du Plessis's VAT [value-added tax] system has failed. The Co-ordinating Committee on VAT [VCC], made up of over 104 organisations from all sectors of the community calls on the government to reopen negotiations with us to take a relook at the entire system of VAT.

Indications of the failure of the present VAT system include:

—Treasury figures, recently released show that VAT has not brought the required revenue into government coffers spurring speculation that the government will have to sharply increase the VAT rate, not even six months after VAT was introduced.

—In our initial discussions with the Department of Finance, they said that no delay was possible in implementing VAT because of imminent investments and capital goods orders. The department was also arguing that the VAT input credit on capital and intermediate goods would help manufacturers lower the costs of their products. Now a survey of 700 manufacturers by the Stellenbosch University, Bureau for Economic Research has revealed that this has not and is not expected to happen.

—Prices, especially food prices have rocketed and we have not yet felt the impact of the petrol price increase. Food over Christmas was 25 percent more expensive than last year. Even VATWatch has provided evidence of how retailers/the commercial sector took advantage of the introduction of VAT to raise prices.

—The poverty relief programmes which were meant to offset the impact of VAT on poor have not been set up. Even the first deadlines that the Department of Health and Welfare set for the implementation of a food aid programme were not met and the measly R[and]220 million has not been distributed.

—Small business are struggling to handle the added administrative costs associated with VAT. Hawkers in particular have been devastated by the introduction of VAT.

The VCC warns the government that it is playing with fire if it thinks that it can unilaterally increase the VAT rate or make further changes to VAT. The VCC is committed to fighting all steps which will lead to greater poverty and hardship for the majority of South Africans.

Despite numerous letters and approaches to the state president, the government has refused to reopen negotiations on the problems of VAT.

The Co-ordinating Committee of VAT is now giving Barend du Plessis until 29 January to respond to our call to reopen negotiations. On the day we have called a VAT summit of all our constituent organisations where a programme of action will be decided upon.

The negotiations would have to discuss:

—The VAT rate.

—VAT on basic foods and in particular whether the eight foods zero-rated until the end of March will continue to be zero-rated.

—VAT on medicines, medical services, water and electricity.

- Special provisions for small business.
- The establishment of properly negotiated poverty relief programmes.
- Other sources of revenue.

In the meantime, the constituent organisations of the VCC are considering possible forms of action if our ultimatum is not met.

The VCC are also arranging public forums in eight major centres around the country where the public will be given an opportunity to "vote on VAT". Members of the public will be encouraged to phone, write in or give oral submissions on the following questions:

- What problems do you have with VAT?"
- What do you feel about the implementation of VAT?
- What changes do you want to suggest to VAT?

The government's intransigence in taking public opinion seriously has led us to call these forums to give the public a direct opportunity to make their voices heard.

#### Finance Minister Discusses VAT Revenue

MB1701112692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1042 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Cape Town Jan 17 SAPA—Collections of VAT [value-added tax] for the first few months after introduction should be interpreted with great caution, but it appeared the estimated revenue was fairly close to target, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said on Friday.

He said in a statement that various factors needed to be taken into account when analysing the receipts from value added tax.

These included the fact that some businesses paid VAT on a monthly basis and others on a two-monthly basis while farmers paid VAT only on a bi-annual basis.

Another factor to be considered was that VAT which was collected in a specific month, for example in October, must be paid to Inland Revenue before the 25th of the following month and would only be reflected in the November figures.

At this stage the collections from VAT for only two months were known, being R[and]1.2 billion for November and R1.8 billion for December.

"The fairly large difference between these two figures is attributable mainly to technical problems experienced in the first month in which VAT was collected and which had an effect on the figures for the second month.

"The largest portion of VAT collected by customs and excise in November was paid over only in December. The same also happened in respect of transfers and repayments that took place electronically.

"Furthermore, no VAT was paid back to the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states in November with the result that the December payment included two months' VAT.

"It will be clear that the VAT collections for the first few months after introduction should be interpreted with great caution. It would, however, at this early state appear that the estimated revenue from VAT, after having allowed for the lower rate and other concessions, is fairly close to target."

#### Trade Institute Says Adjustments Premature

MB1701075792 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut [Afrikaner Trade Institute—AHI] says it has learned with concern of the debate in the media on the possible change in the VAT [value-added tax] base and rates before the 1992-93 budget.

The AHI said in a statement in Johannesburg that any adjustments to the VAT system now would be premature and counterproductive. The AHI said adjustments to the VAT base, which would result in more exclusions, would undermine the effectiveness of the tax system. An increase in rates also had to be avoided.

The AHI added that it would be irresponsible to condemn the system as ineffective on the basis of a few months' collections. The present format of the tax systems should be given time to function properly.

#### Economic Advisor Notes Need To Boost Economy

MB2101084492 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] The chairman of the state president's Economic Advisory Board, Mr. Warren Clewlow, says that attention will have to be given to certain aspects of the economy this year if political success is to be achieved. Mr. Clewlow was speaking at a meeting of the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer [Afrikaans Chamber of Business].

He said that stability was essential for the creation of a climate suitable for investment. A viable local small-business sector also had to be created, and administrative red tape had to be minimized. He said that he strongly supported the introduction of antitrust legislation that would prevent the absorption of small businesses by big business.



**ANC Spokesman Views Mandela North African Visit**

*MB1701143192 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English  
1100 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Interview with African National Congress spokesman Sakkie Macozoma with South African Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Jennifer Wilson, from the "Africa South" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela leaves today on a 5-day visit to Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco. He is to be received by heads of government there to drum up continued support for the ANC. We asked ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma whether the ANC would also continue to encourage the North African countries not to establish links with the South African Government.

[Begin recording] [Macozoma] No, I don't think that he will be specifically asking them not to, but the view that we hold at the moment is that the establishing of diplomatic ties, particularly for African countries, has a symbolic value that does not exist in other situations. But we would accept, you know, reasons that are advanced by countries for other kinds of contact such as trade and perhaps consular level.

[Wilson] Has the ANC received much financial support from those North African countries in the past?

[Macozoma] Yes, that has been the case, financial support as well as material support such as military training and those kinds of things, and in fact, Mr. Mandela himself trained in Algeria, and, I think, could have moved into Tunisia as well in the early sixties.

[Wilson] Will he be asking for financial support on this visit?

[Macozoma] Obviously the current transition puts a number of burdens on organizations that are involved in it, which don't have the benefit of the taxpayers' money. Therefore, it is more than likely that those concerns will be put to those governments. [end recording]

**Natal SACP To Intensify Use of Mass Action**

*MB1601132892 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1200 GMT 16 Jan 92*

[Text] The South African Communist Party [SACP] has promised to step up its struggle in Natal. Natal Region Deputy Secretary Cassius Lubisi told Reuben Goldberg of the party's strategy:

[Begin recording] [Lubisi] The intensification has taken the forms of mass action at this present juncture of development in our country. We will link what is happening in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] with the daily issues affecting our people, particularly in this region.

[Goldberg] Can you give me more information about plans of mass action that the SACP has in the Natal region?

[Lubisi] That is, in the Natal Midlands region, we are going to raise seriously the issue of the violence in this region. Whilst Codesa continues peacefully, we cannot wait and see our people being butchered. [end recording]

**Report Notes Police Surveillance on Organizations**

*MB1701152092 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 17-23 Jan 92 p 2*

[Report by Gavin Evans: "Big Brother Watches All of You"]

[Text] The Security Branch of the South African Police [SAP] kept tabs on at least 314,000 individuals and 9,500 organisations at the time its name changed last year—and these files still exist.

The extent of police surveillance is apparent from a 22-page "Uiters Geheim (Top Secret)" document compiled in Security Branch headquarters in Pretoria and signed by the then security policy chief, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit. It was supplied to The Weekly Mail this week via sources within the state.

The document also shows that two months after political organisations were unbanned in early 1990, the Security Branch was still focusing the bulk of its energies on a sophisticated plan to deal with the African National Congress [ANC] and its allies.

The document is accompanied by an addendum which sketches the command structure of the Security Branch. This provides the names of 93 security police officers and the units they headed—including structures in Swaziland, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

The Security Branch has since been absorbed into the new Crime Combating and Investigation Service [CCIS] division, but there are strong suspicions that this new body is still doing much of the work of the Security Branch.

Asked to comment on what had become of these files since the security police had been absorbed into the CCIS, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said this week that he did not know what had happened to all the "physical files", but noted that "obviously the police still have a corporate memory".

The document provides a fascinating glimpse into the branch's workings in its last (official) months of existence. What is clear is that the ANC continued to preoccupy the security police even after its unbanning, and that far-rightwing groups played a smaller role in the branch's concerns.

Entitled "Tasks, Goals and Functions: Security Branch" and dated March 27 1990, the document stated that the branch would have to pay attention to a greater numbers

of individuals and organisations because the unbanning of organisations would lead to a factionalisation of black politics.

It noted that the security police "were not surprised" by President F.W. de Klerk's announcements of February 2 1990, referring to a January 16 1990 branch commanding officers' conference where the matter was apparently discussed.

"The clearly identifiable enemy of February 1 1990 were less clear on February 2 1990," it added.

The extent of surveillance carried out on South Africans is conveyed by the fact that by the end of 1989, the branch "had already given attention too 314,000 individuals and 9,500 organisations".

Kotze's comment about this was that where individuals and organisations previously investigated were now engaged in legitimate activities, the police no longer had any interest in their activities. "For example, those relating to membership of banned organisations are now completely irrelevant and are no longer used," he said.

The document expressed deep concern that the ANC youth were out of control and would not be convinced of the merits of negotiation. It predicted that ANC leader Nelson Mandela's status would be reduced among the youth when their aspirations were not realised.

After that, it noted, Mandela could play one of two roles: "To fit in with the youth's concept of negotiation in order to retain relevance as a leader or, in isolation from the youth, to promote a more moderate outlook. If this happens the youth could possibly be attracted to the more militant/violent approach of exclusive leaders such as those from the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and Azanian People's Organisation and the internal situation could resemble that of 1976."

What was needed, it argued, were profiles of organisations and their leaders, knowledge of their strong and weak points, and information about differences among them. It was necessary to identify and analyse their potential and short-comings, as well as to identify differences within "own ranks" to ensure "optimal co-operation" and the development of strategies to counter various radical organisations.

"The Security Branch knows the finer nuances of the onslaught against the authorities and is indispensable for the survival of the land," it said.

Further reasons given for the branch's continued existence included protecting anti-ANC/PAC blacks and former ANC members now working with the police; protecting Mandela and "moderates within the ANC"; preventing "radicals" from taking over the ANC; protecting whites against "black vengeance" and preventing the "collapse of white morale".

It said the police should proceed with projects which promoted peaceful negotiations, put projects aimed at creating new black organizations and the collection of information on neighbouring states in the background, and proceed with the recruitment of informers within the ANC, PAC "and other radical groups".

"Any ANC attempt to take power must be stopped," it stressed.

Discussion counter-revolutionary strategies, the document went no further than to state that the branch must "take part on all levels and forums".

It boasted of close links with the security police in the "independent" homelands: "The Security Branches of the TVBC [Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, and Ciskei] states depend very heavily on the SAP's [South African Police] Security Branch and its help in relation to training, handling explosives and all related security operations."

The document concluded by stating that without a "strong and active Security Branch the negotiations will never succeed—the country will fall into conflict and possibly a civil war.

"Any weakening of the Security Branch will have a big impact on radical organisations. It will give them a sign that they can do what they want without being stopped."

Less than a year later, then-minister of law and order Adriaan Vlok announced that the Security Branch had been pruned.

It was renamed the Crime Intelligence Service and fell directly under the CCIS—headed by Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, former chief of the Security Branch.

**\* Magnus Malan Discusses Details of Angola Combat**  
*92AF0185B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans*  
*15 Nov 91 p 9*

[Interview of General Magnus Malan by Willie Kuhn: "Magnus Lifts Veil from Cuito Cuanavale"; place and date not given]

[Text] The Cubans, the Russians, and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers were thrashed at the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale. The facts of the battle speak of "the greatest loss of face" they ever had.

This was the answer General Magnus Malan gave to BEELD in reply to the question about which there are still heated disputes: What precisely happened at Cuito, and who won?

Willie Kuhn, senior assistant editor of BEELD, conducted an exclusive interview with Gen. Malan and gives this account of it.

[Malan] Any fighting force (such as the Cubans, the Russians, and the MPLA) loses face whenever a total of

25,000 troops are pulverized, and between 7,000 and 10,000 men are lost, and:

1) You lose a thousand million dollars of equipment that is either captured or destroyed. And this includes sophisticated equipment.

2) You suffer these setbacks while you had a so-called "superior air force."

I can wax lyrical over Cuito, for we led this force into traps they were unaware of.

On some days, President Fidel Castro of Cuba tried to control the battle by telephone from Havana from morning to evening. We used more of a middle-management style.

We had men who could speak Spanish. They listened to what the enemy's pilots were saying in Spanish as they flew over, noting how apprehensive they were.

Then we discovered that they were so anxious about our trying to gain superior air power, because then they would have to fight us for it. This is just about the first priority if you are in a conventional war situation. All the advantages were on the enemy's side at Cuito. Their planes could remain in the air over the battle ground for longer periods of time, and their radar was located so close to the air battles that they could actually observe everything from the ground upward.

They hurled over a million kilograms of bombs at us, as a result of which only one soldier died and one was wounded. That was the highest cost in airplanes I have ever heard of in my lifetime for the most negligible results.

We played cat and mouse with them. They thought that we wanted to take Cuito. We never wanted it. There is a rocky outcropping north of Cuito. If you control that outcropping, you control all of Cuito.

We went and set up our forces on that rocky hill. Then—and I think that must have been the first time in history that it ever happened—we shot up one of their fighter planes on the runway where it was getting ready to take off with a G-5.

In another instance, a battalion of the enemy had gamely got the upper hand. Then the advisory commanding officer of that battalion—a Russian—determined that a helicopter would have to evacuate both him and the Cubans.

[Malan] When that helicopter dropped down, we picked it off with a G-5. It was phenomenal.

Gen. Malan says that there are various reasons why the South Africans did not come out of Cuito with the expected glory.

The movements into Angola had to be made under cover of secrecy.

[Malan] If the media were to know what we were doing, they would broadcast it. I do not blame them for this. I would have done it, too, if I were a media representative.

Publicity would have elicited an immediate reaction from the great world powers also.

[Malan] When you are busy with military operations and you suddenly feel the pressure of international politics on you, saying that you must withdraw...then you must stop and think how this is going to look if you are forced to retreat here in the middle of a battle. It will look as if you had had a spanking.

So we went ahead and did not always tell the newspapers what we were doing, or else we kept our mouths shut entirely. But that also meant that we did not always get feedback from the home front.

I told them that they had to give me two weeks, then we would have to retreat.

The goal of the operation was to prevent the MPLA forces from making a breakthrough in 1988 to Jamba, the headquarters of Gen. Jonas Savimbi of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

[Malan] We did not go in there to capture Cuito, we went in to give a measure of support to Savimbi.

During the battle South Africa sent in troop replacements three times. The idea was to prevent soldiers from remaining too long under battle conditions and to provide experience in operational situations to the greatest number of troops.

The pressure built up when the media knew that South Africans were actively operational in Angola. Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys, the army chief, said that he would organize a tactical withdrawal. Finally, early in 1988, the South Africans gave ground.

According to Gen. Malan, Cuba then engineered an incredible public relations attack. It presented medals to all its soldiers who had fought at Cuito, so that the whole world regarded this as a victory for the Cubans.

Cuba also took newspaper reporters to Cuito, and President Castro claimed for their readership that they had won the war. Disparaging remarks were made about the G-5 cannon.

Gen. Malan says that when he realized that you can be so effective and successful that you attain 100 percent of your goal, but if in the eyes of the public you have not done so, then you have not succeeded in reaching your goal. The creation of the image is just as important as the execution of the task.

[Malan] I could not believe the Cuban operations six months later—the fact they could turn the facts around by managing to create the illusion that they had been successful.



Gen. Malan says that one very important factor in the struggle waged by South Africa is the technological development that has taken place here.

[Malan] It is the greatest challenge for South Africa: that we make every effort to harness that technology in the private sector so that it becomes useful.

For we are playing in a new kind of competition. We have been promoted from the fourth league to the first league. We must not now lose the assets of that first league.

In articles to be published next week, Gen. Malan talks among other things about the BSB [expansion not given] and the ANC [African National Congress].

**Angola**

**Opposition Leader on UNITA Absence at Meeting**

*MB1501104292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 15 Jan 92*

[Text] Representatives of 26 political parties are attending the multiparty meeting which is scheduled to end tomorrow. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, is not attending the event. Most of the participants have condemned UNITA's absence from the proceedings.

Dr. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, president of the Democratic Renewal Party, had this to say about UNITA's absence from the proceedings:

[Begin De Andrade recording] UNITA is fully entitled to be absent because it has the right to either accept or reject any invitation. There is no law compelling UNITA to attend the meeting. So, I accept that UNITA does not wish to attend the meeting.

However, I regret UNITA's absence because it is one of the most important forces in Angola's political scene. Whereas the meeting is a multilateral forum, it would be very useful if UNITA could attend the event because it would be good for UNITA's image and the pacification of the Angolan family, as well as the speeding up and strengthening of the democratization process. [end recording]

**Dos Santos Answers Questions at Multiparty Meeting**

*MB1501190592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 15 Jan 92*

[Remarks by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the Multiparty Meeting in Luanda on 15 January—recorded]

[Text] The multiparty meeting, which began in Luanda yesterday, was this morning delayed when the participants decided to air their views. Holden Roberto, president of the Angola National Liberation Front [FNLA] was the first to speak. Leaders of various political parties also addressed this morning's session. Some of them [words indistinct], and other made proposals. There was consensus that the Bicesse Accords should be upheld.

Nevertheless, the Bicesse Accords do not provide for [words indistinct] a national sovereign conference. Half of the parties that addressed this morning's session reiterated their call for a national sovereign conference.

The president of the Republic clarified all the questions raised by the participants. The head of state stated categorically that government will not accept any proposal on the holding of a sovereign conference. He said: Sovereignty lies with the people, and the latter have not yet been consulted.

After a break, the session resumed with a statement made by the president of the Republic who addressed all worries and proposals aired by the various (?speakers). The president of the Republic drew the attention of the participants to the government's proposals to the multiparty conference.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] The idea of a sovereign conference, as repeatedly stated by various speakers to this session, is aimed at depriving legally established state organs of their authority. More than that, such a conference is also designed to replace the role of the People's Assembly, and do away with the (?Constitution).

Some quarters have often stated that the current government has not been elected, and that (?under specific) democratic conditions elections should be held so that the people may express their will. Meanwhile, those quarters, without wanting to wait for elections, are searching for ways of establishing sovereign organs and other means through which they will form a government and (?seize power) [words indistinct] the fact that there was war in Angola [words indistinct] that there should be sovereign institutions before elections are held [words indistinct] national unity government.

I would like to draw the attention of the honorable representatives of political parties to the proposals that government has submitted, and which in a way address some of the worries relating to the Constitution, and the opposition's right to intervene without violating the Bicesse Accords.

Article No. 9 of the Draft Electoral Law that government has submitted to this conference calls for the establishment of a National Electoral Council. This body is open to all political forces. In terms of the draft law, the National Electoral Council is an organ that implements, conducts, and carries out the electoral registration, and all activities relating to the electoral process.

Paragraphs H, I, L, and M of Article No. 10, deal with general responsibilities. For instance, paragraph H states that measures must be introduced so that the electoral process may be carried out in a free, just, and clear-cut manner [words indistinct] and ensure that the relevant agencies create security conditions required for the holding of elections. In general, it deals with the extension of state administration, the free movement of people, allocation of radio and television time for the various candidates [words indistinct] and so on. So, there is room for the opposition to air its views.

Article No. 11 deals with the membership of the Electoral Council. Paragraph H of that article states a representative of every political party or coalition parties taking part in the elections will form part of that Council.

These are proposals, and the various political forces are free to air their views, without violating the Bicesse Accords. In fact, the Electoral Council will be one of the most important organs in the period preceding the election of a new government.

FNLA President Mr. Holden Roberto has raised a number of issues which I believe must be dealt with on a bilateral basis. That is, between government and FNLA. One such issue relates to former FNLA combatants who are still in the bush, and their integration into society.

Other issues include the question of residents living under difficult conditions along the borders with neighboring countries, and the situation of soldiers and officers with the Buffalo Battalion otherwise known as Battalion 32, who are in South Africa and are regarded as part and parcel of the South African Armed Forces. We are aware that that Battalion consists of Angolans who should return to their fatherland. The government is worried about this issue and has held talks with the South African Government, though we can discuss this issue with the FNLA. So, I think these issues should not be dealt with (?at this meeting). [end recording]

### Mozambique

#### Guebuza Returns From U.S.; Cited on Rome Talks

MB1801101092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Armando Guebuza, transportation and communications minister and head of the government delegation to the Mozambican peace talks in Rome, has reaffirmed the Mozambican Government's desire to sign a cease-fire agreement in the country as soon as possible.

Armando Guebuza told Radio Mozambique that the protocols signed so far give the impression of political progress in the peace talks between the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo. He regretted, however, that Renamo continues to feel that political and diplomatic venues are not essential for achieving peace.

Armando Guebuza returned from the United States yesterday. The minister was expected to leave the United States for Rome but he did not do so because it has not yet been confirmed whether the Renamo delegation has arrived in Rome for another round of peace talks.

This next round of peace talks was expected to conclude discussing political issues presented during the ninth round as well as to discuss military issues.

#### Further on Guebuza's Comments

MB1801121992 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The ninth round of the Mozambican peace talks is expected to resume in Rome any time now. This round began last December having discussed political issues.

In an interview with Radio Mozambique, Transportation and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza said the government is ready to conclude discussing political issues and to begin immediately discussing military issues.

[Begin Guebuza recording] The proposal that the government carried during the ninth round of peace talks was a truce. The government wanted to see the observation of a truce from 22 December to 20 January. The Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, refused this proposal, however.

Obviously, we tried to explain to Renamo the importance of such a gesture during a period when we have signed important political protocols which gave the impression of political progress in the peace talks between the two parties.

Unfortunately, in practice everything shows that Renamo still feels that diplomatic and political venues, that negotiations, are not essential for achieving peace.

Accordingly, we are still lamentably witnessing disastrous situations of deaths, murders, and destruction of goods. For example, a locomotive was destroyed some three or four days ago. In other words, we continue to witness exactly what happened in the past as if no progress had been achieved in the peace talks. We think this will reflect negatively on Renamo's true intentions to end the conflict through negotiations. [end recording]

Over the past few days a number of emerging parties have been complaining of delays in the negotiation process.

[Begin Guebuza recording] The voices of emerging parties as well as the voices of people in the street or through emerging political forces, represent a legitimate concern of our people. They want the war to end immediately and whatever negotiations that must be held can be held in peace. As a matter of fact, this is the spirit that guides the government. We would like to see peace as soon as possible and whatever we have to negotiate can be negotiated once peace is achieved. If this is not possible—because Renamo insists that it cannot be done that way—then we should speed up discussing political issues so that we can begin to discuss military issues.

Unfortunately, last December, we waited for Renamo for more than four days. Its delegation arrived in Rome late because of alleged logistical problems. That is why we did not conclude discussing political issues.

We proposed and it was agreed at the meeting that during the forthcoming meeting we should quickly conclude discussing political issues and begin to discuss military issues. Accordingly, this meant that each party could include in its delegation military personnel. So far, we have no clear sign as to whether Renamo is carrying military personnel to Rome.

Now, turning to your question, it is legitimate and it is understandable that the people should feel impatient. As a matter of fact, the government too feels impatient.

Unfortunately, when we face situations of this nature, we always try to blame someone. I can assure you, however, that our government has been doing all it can to achieve peace as soon as possible. [end recording]

Still on this issue, a number of sources close to the talks (seem to believe) that an eventual cease-fire can only be signed at the end of the first quarter of this year. What is the government's viewpoint?

[Begin Guebuza recording] If it were possible to sign a cease-fire this January, the government would sign it. Accordingly, the government wants to sign a cease-fire as soon as possible. This is a genuine desire on the side of the government. As a matter of fact, the government tries to encourage all the interested parties to, let us say, pressure or support Renamo toward understanding the need to sign a cease-fire as soon as possible. [end recording]

### Rome Peace Talks To Resume 21 Jan

MB1901141492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] The MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY, AIM, has reported that the 10th round of Mozambican peace talks will resume in Rome on Tuesday [21 January]. A source from the Mozambican delegation involved in the negotiations told AIM that the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, delegation is already in Rome. AIM also learned that the government delegation is scheduled to leave Maputo for Rome this afternoon.

Mozambican peace talks were scheduled to resume on 15 January, but were postponed. The Renamo delegation's departure for Rome was delayed due to alleged torrential rains inside the country.

### Guebuza Departs for Rome

MB1901191492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Interview with Armando Guebuza, transportation and communications minister and head of Government delegation to Mozambican peace talks in Rome, by Radio Mozambique's Ezequiel Mavota at Maputo International Airport on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] The Mozambican peace talks are expected to resume in Rome next Tuesday [21 January]. Transportation and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza who is leading the Mozambican Government delegation left for Rome today. Our colleague Ezequiel Mavota was at the Maputo International Airport.

[Begin recording] [Mavota] It seems as if the talks are being drawn out and the people are increasingly anxious to see peace in Mozambique. Do you think that we can at least expect a cease-fire agreement in the country this year?

[Guebuza] It is always risky to make a prediction in this kind of a situation. Late last year [as heard], when we signed the first agreement, the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, told the whole world that the only

thing that continued to hinder talks between Mozambicans was the presence of Zimbabwean troops outside the corridors.

Understanding the need to resolve this issue, we reached an agreement on 1 December 1990, confining the Zimbabwean troops along the corridors. Renamo then started to say that the talks are being hindered by the Mozambican Government because of this and that. It referred in particular to our laws, mainly the Law on Parties.

Once again, this argument was baseless because the Law on Parties had been drafted on the basis of agreements signed by the two sides on 21 December 1990. The agreements defined the principles that would govern the Law on Parties. We found out that during the negotiations, we took months to discuss the Law on Parties.

In November last year, after signing the two agreements—the first and second protocols—Renamo issued a statement guaranteeing that the discussion of electoral issues was very [word indistinct] and it would be concluded in a short period of about 10 days—from 10 December to 21 December. We believed it. We went to Rome but the Renamo delegation was not there in time. It gave its reasons for the delay and we began to discuss political issues but did not conclude our discussions.

We once again heard that Renamo had made another promise. It said in January, we shall quickly conclude discussing political issues because there is not much to discuss and we shall then begin discussing military issues. They pledged, just like we did, to bring military specialists to Rome.

Now, at the last minute, we learn there will be no military specialists. How do you expect me to make a prediction?

[Mavota] Mr. Minister, how will the meeting between Presidents Banda, Mugabe, and Dhlakama contribute toward activating the negotiations?

[Guebuza] We shall see the results now, during the forthcoming discussions. It would be premature to say anything now because we do not know what instructions Mr. Dhlakama gave to his delegation. As far as the government is concerned, we still have the same determination, the same readiness, and the same willingness to be flexible toward achieving a genuine and not a fictitious peace. [end recording]

### Zimbabwe

### Mozambique's Chissano Arrives 20 Jan for Talks

MB2001143292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The ZIMBABWE INTER-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY has revealed that President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano arrived in the Zimbabwean capital.

Harare, this morning for talks with his Zimbabwean counterpart Robert Mugabe.

The one-day official visit is part of regular meetings aimed at exchanging views on the situation in the region and it is a follow-up to recent meetings in Blantyre between the Zimbabwean president and his Malawian counterpart and the Mozambique National Resistance leader.

Commenting on the visit, Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Shamuyarira said: Obviously, President Mugabe wants to discuss with President Chissano some of the issues that were discussed in Maiawi.

#### **Chissano Briefs Newsmen on Talks**

*MB2001182292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 20 Jan 92*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has said the Rome peace talks cannot be allowed to fail because this could bring about disastrous consequences for the Mozambican people. The ZIMBABWE INTER-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY, ZIANA, reported.

Chissano was addressing newsmen in Harare at the end of 90-minute talks with his Zimbabwean counterpart Robert Mugabe which focused on the Mozambican peace process.

According to ZIANA, the Mozambican leader said conditions were not yet ripe for a direct meeting between him and Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, leader Afonso Dhlakama. Chissano said, however, that President Mugabe informed him that he would continue to hold separate contacts with Malawian head of state Kamuzu Banda and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama.

President Chissano said: The peace talks are under way in Rome. Afterwards, we shall see when it will be necessary for me to hold a consultative and positive meeting with Dhlakama.

The Mozambican leader is accompanied by Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi and Labor Minister Teodato Hunguana.

The Zimbabwean presidential delegation to the talks included Emmerson Mnangagwa, minister of justice, legal and parliamentary affairs; and the minister of state for national security [name not given].



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